

**DISCIPLINES, COLONIALISM AND
SOVEREIGNTY: ENGLISH AND ENGLISH
LITERATURE IN THAILAND AND INDIA**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
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(HISTORY OF EDUCATION)**

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


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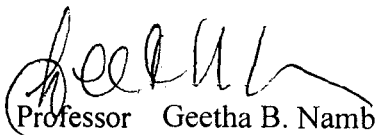
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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitle, '**Disciplines, Colonialism and Sovereignty : English and English Literature in Thailand and India**', submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy (History of Education)** has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is my own work.


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We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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Chapter I

Introduction

English is an international language. There are many reasons why we have to learn this language. These could well include communication in an increasingly globalised society, keeping pace with new developments in science and technology, pursuing business at the international level and keeping abreast with new trends in the world of media and entertainment. These reasons then are of a historical, political, external economic, practical, intellectual nature and include the world of entertainment. (Crystal, 2004: 106). The English language was introduced into Thailand – Siam at that time – during the reign of King Mongkut or King Rama IV (1851-1868). The king was the first Thai citizen to learn English ostensibly and opened the doors to Western science and technology to maintain the country's sovereignty. Thailand became a buffer state during the colonial period and English has been taught there as a foreign language.

The King's sons and a few princes were introduced to English and Western ideas. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, successor to King Mongkut, Thailand was subject to a successful reform. The King's sons were sent to study in Europe and he himself visited Europe twice (1897 and 1907) in order to understand the causes behind its economic prosperity and to develop collaborative relations for the development of Thailand. The earliest influences were evident in the import of Italian architecture, the French legal system and the structure of the British system of education.

The first modern school was established in the palace during King Chulalongkorn's reign (1868-1910). The first university was established in 1916 and it was named Chulalongkorn University. The first Department of English was established in Chulalongkorn University in 1933. English was first introduced at the university level. Most graduates of the university entered the service of the state. English is presently studied throughout the country as a foreign language, starting from grade I. But the quality of instruction is not satisfactory. At the university level, nearly all universities offer a B.A. course in English. At least four of government universities have a Ph.D. programme in English.

This dissertation will study the establishment of the first department of English in Thailand, exploring why this department was established, the process of recruitment and training of its first faculty members, its curriculum, and the modes of domesticating the programme into the Thai environment. Finally, it will attempt a comparison between India and Thailand on the formulation of English language/literature as a discipline, and the place of English in non-Western cultures.

The Beginnings of Western Modernization in Thailand

Siam, "The Land of the White Elephant," "The Land of the Yellow Robe," "The Country of the Tai," i.e. the Free, is now known as Thailand. (Carter, 1988: 19) Thailand is situated in Southeast Asia and shares borders with four countries: to the north with Myanmar and Laos, to the west with Myanmar, to the east with Laos and Cambodia, and to the south with Malaysia. With the population of about 61 million (62 million), Thailand boasts peoples of multiple races, ethnic groups,

cultures and languages. The people of Thai, Laotian, Mon and Chinese descent intermingle throughout the country.

There are languages and dialects of all language families spoken in Thailand, including the Mon-Khmer language family. Most people speak dialects of the Thai-Lao language family. At present, the most common language used in Thailand is Thai, which is also the official language. The Thai people of different regions speak two or more languages or dialects. The literacy rate was 94.7 % in 1997. (Source: National Statistical Office, 1997)

In Siam (Thailand), public education in the past was merged with religious instruction and was provided by priests within the temples. Reading and writing were meant to facilitate the reading and writing of sacred texts. The mass of the people limited themselves to learning verses by heart. The Brahman books and Buddhist commentaries were comprised of science, complicated cosmogony, moral instruction, and juridical doctrine. (Buls, 1994: 69)

In 1900 the government attempted to organize public education. There were some secondary schools in Bangkok which were managed by the English. All the schools were in the temples. In Bangkok and its districts, there were 293 temples and 8,700 priests. The number of priests who taught was 418 and the schools were subsidized by the government. In the provinces, there were 4,408 temples and 49,593 priests. Of this number, 2,928 were teachers who taught the Thai language, and 1,075 taught Pali, the language of the sacred books. (Buls, 1994: 69) There were 73 schools run by catholic missions and they had 4,465 pupils. The American Presbyterian missions had 605 pupils and there were also some

Baptist schools too, but with fewer pupils. In Siam, the requirement was still simple. The civil services and agriculture were the only careers open to young people. Controversies arising from commercial or political relations with foreigners were to be resolved by the government.

The College of Sunandalaya was a college for girls belonging to the nobility and was located in a palace of the first queen, who drowned in the Menam river (Chao Phraya). Miss Palethorpe, the director, admitted that she did not know what would become of her pupils. The programme was simple and included writing, reading and the four rules. The young girls learned English, drawing and embroidery. The teachers college had an English director. The programme comprised training in 'the three R-s,' i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic. (Buls, 1994: 79)

From the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, Thailand was confronted with the threat of Western imperialism. The Thai rulers considered that the only means of maintaining national independence was to establish diplomatic relations with Western countries. King Rama IV (1851-1868), initiated this awareness and brought it to realization by signing a new set of treaties with Western powers, starting with the Bowring Treaty (1855) - an unequal treaty that was greatly advantageous to England. Moreover, Thailand lost her judicial and fiscal autonomy, and the treaty had no time limit. Following which, Thailand let other countries negotiate treaties in order to maintain equilibrium among the countries which had diplomatic relations with Thailand. (Bunnag, 2000: 47)

Meanwhile, the King tried to modernize the country as much as he could. He opened the land to a life-giving flow of foreign commerce and opened

men's minds to new ideas. He introduced Western inventions and technology and utilized them effectively in national modernization. He abolished out-of-date customs and preserved relevant ones, built new Western style roads, issued the first modern currency, set up a printing press, and so on. The policy of maintaining national independence through diplomatic negotiation and modernizing the country along Western lines was pursued and expanded successfully in most aspects by King Mongkut's successor, King Chulalongkorn, or King Rama V (1868-1910). His Majesty King Mongkut was aware that Siam could not remain isolated and so sent students to be educated in Europe. As early as 1861, his sons and some other young princes were introduced to Western ideas as well as the English language. During his youth, King Chulalongkorn, King Mongkut's son, had the opportunity to visit nearby states, such as India, Malaya, Burma and Java. He no longer needed an interpreter to converse with foreign citizens. (Jacquemyns, 2000: 5) King Chulalongkorn's far-sighted policy had been to create bonds with as many Western states as possible by forging diplomatic links and sending Thai students to a large number of European countries. There were three aims of his visit to Europe. Firstly, to be received as an equal by Western sovereigns. Secondly, to study the reasons for Western supremacy and wealth, paying special attention to the lower classes. Thirdly, to make contact with his sons and most of the other Thai students in Europe.

King Chulalongkorn's first royal visit to Europe started on April 7, 1897 and ended on December 16, 1897. He visited Italy, Switzerland, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Spain and Portugal. He also visited Egypt and Sri Lanka on the way back to Bangkok. Upon his return, King Chulalongkorn said, "I am determined to do everything in

my power to make Siam a free and progressive country.” (Chulalongkorn University, 2000: i) The royal visit occurred at a time when Thailand’s sovereignty was being threatened by Western colonial expansion. It was imperative that Thailand should reform its administrative system according to Western models, and introduce as many “modern” technologies into the country as possible if it was to survive. Foreign experts and expertise were needed, and employed. Siam had to be recognized as a “civilised” state. King Chulalongkorn not only realized this fact, but also worked extremely hard to bring about reforms and usher his country into the modern family of nations. Wherever he went, the King tried to cement closer ties with the rulers, royal families, or governments of those states, or at least to win their respect. (Kiranandana, 2000: iii)

At the time of his first visit to Europe, there were political tensions between Siam and France. The King explained his concerns in a letter to the Tsar, who advised him to visit Russia before visiting France, and he did. (Diskul, 2000: 1) From his several trips abroad, to some of the colonies of the Western powers and to Europe itself, this great, beloved monarch brought not only fresh ideas to Thailand but also specialists in various branches of knowledge, such as lawyers, diplomats, economists, architects, engineers, artists and craftsmen. For this reason, the modernization during this reign may also be called “Westernization”. Among the results of Westernization, the Western-style ministerial system was an outstanding and important legacy that has lasted until the present day. (Bunnag, 2000 : 48)

A Brief Introduction to Higher Education in Thailand

Chulalongkorn University is Thailand's first modern university that was established in 1916, this was followed by the founding of Thammasat University (for the social sciences), Silpakorn University (for the fine arts). These universities were all located in Bangkok (Sinlarat, 2005: 29). Thai universities before World War II were possibly conceived as institutes for imparting a professional training. Thus Mahidol University (a medical school) was established by the Ministry of Public Health, and Kasetsart University was set up by the Ministry of Agriculture. After World War II, the idea of a modern university with a larger educational agenda spread across the Thai universities. (Sinlarat, 2005: 1) The idea was promoted by Thai educators who had studied in Western universities. This modern university was larger than the earlier ones. The number of specializations offered was not only much greater, since research and community service were included in addition to the teaching function of the university, A general education programme was introduced into the universities' menu of courses and the teaching programme was complemented by student discussions and seminars. The grading system was also modified from the percentage system to that of grade points. (Sinlarat, 2005: 2)

The transformation of the Thai university into a modern university is considered a landmark development in the history of higher education in Thailand. (Sinlarat, 2005: 2). In the aftermath of World War II, the Cold War polarized the allegiances of several countries. Thailand was one of the nations that reformed its economy and its political orientation on lines suggested by the United States of America (Sinlarat, 2005: 5). Economic and military ties were established between both countries. It could be said

that the economic modernization of Thailand commenced under the supervision of the USA. Aid for the development of infrastructure, investment and export came from the United States. These developments impacted upon the education system especially the system of higher education which the state saw as an instrument for the development of the country's economy. The university system expanded and changed. And in this manner Thai universities took their first steps to becoming modern. (Sinlarat, 2005: 6)

The modern university was ideologically oriented towards serving a liberal capitalist economy and the task was catalyzed through the establishment of new universities and technical colleges in the provinces, such as the Chiang Mai university in the North (Sinlarat, 2005: 19). However, since foreign assistance was tied with support for the universities, it was felt that the USA intervened in the formulation of the curriculum in Thailand. A recent history of this transformation suggests that the ethos of competition in the university was introduced from the USA and this idea was not in accordance with the ethos of Thai society (Sinlarat, 2005: 23)

The percentage of students entering into institutions of higher learning in Thailand is small. Before World War II there were no more than six universities with a student population of a few thousand students. Consequently, higher education shall be a big issue in Thai society in the future. (Sinlarat, 2003: 3) At present only three universities, Chulalongkorn University, Srinakharinwirot University and Ramkhamhaeng University, have facilities for post-graduate education. Thus while facilities are existent they are under utilized. (Sinlarat, 2003: 5)

Despite the above, higher education in Thailand has always kept pace with international trends. The first of these is that of mass education and the universalization of education. The government is responsible for providing higher education for everyone of the majority of the people. The idea of the Open University was floated to expand the coverage of higher education. Ramkhamhaeng University established in 1971 was the first open admission university to be established in Thailand. The number of students now enrolled is more than 400,000. (Sinlarat, 2003: 8; Commission on Higher Education, 2005 : 66) The second trend is that of privatization, and is evident in the private universities established; an idea that also traveled from the United States to Thailand as it did to other parts of the world. The government has plans to push all universities to towards full autonomy and to be managed privately. Suranaree University of Technology established in 1992 is Thailand's first public autonomous university. (Sinlarat, 2003: 10; Commission on Higher Education, 2005: 81). The third trend is that of marketization, stimulating competition and consumerism. The World Trade Organization (WTO) has defined higher education as a good. (Sinlarat, 2003: 13). In the past government was the main employer of students who had obtained higher degrees; be it in the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Education or Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives. Later the opportunities for graduates opened up in business and the services sectors. (Sinlarat, 2003: 24) The fourth trend is that of standardization of quality. The Thai higher education system had set standards of good teaching, good library facilities and a good learning environment. (Sinlarat, 2003: 25). The fifth trend is globalization, internationalization, or virtualization. This involves networking and collaboration with institutes and universities across the globe. (Sinlarat, 2003: 16) The last and most important trend is that of the

expanding role of ICTs in education that, it is hoped, will facilitate the evolution of the programmes on mass education. (Sinlarat, 2003: 18) The new thinking while keeping abreast with current international developments, is thus attempting to walk the tight rope between addressing issues of accessibility and that of transforming the environment of higher education into a creative one.

Chapter II

Review of Literature

The purpose of this study is to investigate the manner in which academic disciplines are institutionalized and anchored within different contexts of higher education. Before we proceed with the problematic we shall in this chapter review the literature on what is meant by a “discipline”.

Approaches to the study of the formation of disciplines

1. The Tribal Politics of Disciplines

There are many definitions of disciplines and approaches to investigating the formation of disciplines. In their study of Academic Tribes and Territories, Becher and Trowler pointed out that the concept of an academic discipline is not altogether straightforward. Disciplines are in part identified by the existence of relevant departments; but it does not follow that every department represents a discipline. One way of looking at disciplines is through a structural framework. (Becher and Trowler, 2001: 41). The study of Becher and Trowler seeks to highlight one particular range of issues: how academic institutions elect to draw the map of knowledge; and how operational distinctions are made between traditional disciplines such as history or physics and interdisciplinary fields like urban studies, peace studies and so on. (Becher and Trowler, 2001: 42)

2. The Sociology of Professions and Disciplines

On the other hand Goldstein’s study of Michel Foucault’s Discipline and Punish focuses upon the concept of the “disciplines” and compares it with the sociological concept of the “professions”. The study of

professionalization attracted the notice of Anglo-American sociologists in the early twentieth century. Sociologists regarded the professions as having distant medieval origins; the three prototypical professions of learning, law, and medicine were seen as having “differentiated” from a common medieval “religious matrix.” Talcott Parson’s article on “Professions” in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* begins as follows: “The development and increasing strategic importance of the professions probably constitute the most important change that has occurred in the occupational system of modern societies. (Goldstein, 1984: 174)

Although sociologists disagree over the definition of professions, a list of the formal attributes of a profession include: (1) a body of esoteric knowledge, mastery of which is the indispensable qualification for practice of the profession; (2) monopoly, recognition of the exclusive competence of the profession in the domain to which its body of the knowledge refers; (3) autonomy, or control by the profession over its work; and (4) a service idea, a commitment or ethical imperative to place the welfare of the public or the individual client above the self-interest of the practitioner. Of the four attributes, the body of knowledge is absolutely necessary. (Goldstein, 1984: 174 - 5)

Unlike the sociological theory of the professions, Foucault’s construct of the “disciplines” is not put forth as a theory about occupational groups. In Discipline and Punish, the “disciplines” do not refer in the first instance to an elite of expert practitioners but to the masses. These “disciplines” are depicted as “methods which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body.” (Goldstein, 1984: 175). Foucault’s

“disciplines” begin to proliferate, like the sociologists’ “professions,” in the eighteenth century and they continue to grow steadily.

In The Archeology of Knowledge, Foucault uses the term “discipline” unashamedly to denote a body of knowledge of a certain sort. For purposes of archeology, a “discipline” is not a properly separate unit for analysis. While Parsons uses only half the meaning of the term, referring to the knowledge bases of the various professions as “disciplines.” “Profession” means both “a special kind of occupation” and “an avowal or promise.” Foucauldian “discipline” has three meanings: a branch of knowledge; the particular mode of “training” to which the clientele of the professional is subjected; and the rigorous “disciplined” training to which the professional has himself submitted. (Goldstein, 1984: 179)

3. Cultural approaches to Disciplines

Valimaa has developed a cultural approach to higher education studies. The cultural approach is rooted in two different intellectual starting points: studies of disciplinary cultures and institutional cultures. Discipline as cultural entities have been developed in Europe in relation to the “two cultures”. The sociology of knowledge approach rooted in institutional studies is characteristic of the American intellectual tradition. (Valimaa, 1998: 119). In a study of disciplinary cultures, Valimaa reviewed the work of C.P. Snow and Tony Becher. She argued that although Snow’s *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution?* was written four decades ago, we need to contextualize his ideas. His book provoked a widespread debate on the two cultures in the academic world. (Collini 1993 cited in Valimaa, 1998: 122). In his essay Snows does not refer to historical or sociological studies of universities and academic disciplines but his argument is based on his own experiences. Therefore,

Snow was not interested in the two cultures as an academic problem but as a cultural danger causing social problems. He was able to make visible the cultural divide separating Humanists and Scientists originating in the tradition of modern science. (Toulmin 1992 cited in Valimaa, 1998: 123) Snow's work is a landmark in the development of the cultural understanding of higher education because it promoted intellectual interest in higher education in terms of cultural entities and boundaries.

Becher and Trowler analyze the relationship between academic people and disciplinary ideas starting with the theoretical assumption that academic communities are both epistemological and social communities. Disciplines are classified into hard pure, hard applied, soft pure, and soft applied. Hard pure disciplines include physics, soft pure include sociology, hard applied allude to engineering, and education studies comprise soft applied disciplines. Becher maintains that the disciplines can be analyzed as socially convergent or divergent disciplinary communities. (Valimaa, 1998: 124)

The study of institutions of higher education institutions cultural entities commenced in the 1980s. In the United States the expansion of the cultural approach in organizational sociology and business sciences encouraged new studies on higher education institutions as cultural entities. The college was seen not only as an organization but as a subculture with its own idiosyncratic customs and concerns. (Riesman and Jencks 1963 cited in Valimaa, 1998: 128) Organizational culture is the study of particular webs of significance within an organizational setting. (Tierney 1988 cited in Valimaa 1998: 129) According to Tierney cultural researchers should pay attention to environment, mission, socialization, information, strategy and leadership. Theoretically the

search for institutional cultures is a combination of anthropological understanding and sociological conceptualization. Culturally higher education institutions become an integral part of society because of their students and faculty members.

4. Constructivist Approaches to Interdisciplinarity

The sociologist of science Steve Fuller offers a definition of discipline and a method of detecting disciplinary boundaries. A discipline is “bounded” by its procedure for adjudicating knowledge claims. There are three ways to detect disciplinary boundaries: (1) examine disciplines that adjudicate “ostensively similar” knowledge claims; (2) examine the metascience implicit in a discipline’s argumentation format; and (3) examine the strategies used to synthesize the research of two disciplines. (Fuller, 1985: 2 – 3).

Mario L. Small offers a definition of discipline and an interdisciplinary formation in Departmental Conditions and the Emergence of New Disciplines : Two Cases in the Legitimation of African-American Studies. A discipline, such as economics or psychology, may be defined for our purposes as having, according to its practitioners, an independent topic of study, methodological approach, and perspective. An interdisciplinary field, such as Environmental Studies or Women’s Studies, may be defined as having a specific or unique topic of study but borrowing the methods or approaches of several disciplines, and making no claims to being an independent discipline. (Small, 1999: 660). Small’s paper examines the establishment of African-American Studies as a discipline and interdiscipline in Temple University and Harvard University respectively. At Temple University, the local community supported the emergence of African-American Studies as a new discipline that was later labeled Africology. At Harvard University,

without any active intervention of the community, African-American Studies was set up as an interdisciplinary subject. Temple aims to follow an Afrocentric approach, largely independent of the methods of traditional disciplines. Harvard follows a multi-disciplinary approach. They differ in their conception of the relationship between theory and practice. At Temple, the discipline is conceived as inherently geared toward social change, as “liberating,” and the department is engaged in community improvement; at Harvard, there is no community orientation, and no conception that Black Studies, as a field of study, is more “liberating” than traditional disciplines, the department aims to have broad impact on racial policy. (Small, 1999: 664) Like the early departments in sociology, psychology, and other disciplines, the two departments struggled early on to attain institutional stability. Small concluded that the scope, method, and subject matter of departments in emerging intellectual enterprises may be affected by institutional, academic, and larger political factors. (Small, 1999: 661)

On the other hand, Abbot suggested that the emergence of a profession can be understood by uncovering the contests between itself and other professions that led to its monopolization of the legitimate practice of the tasks it performs. As new professions emerge, they either erect or eliminate boundaries between themselves and others to legitimize their endeavors. (Small, 1999: 665) African-American Studies scholars are seeking to legitimize their new enterprise and institutionalize their new departments. They need the support, recognition, and resources of different audiences. (Small, 1999: 666)

The process, as it regards Afro-Americanists, appears to take place in three larger arenas : (1) a local institutional arena, involving local

university, administrators, students, and faculty of different departments, from which they gain institutional support and capital resources; (2) a wider academic arena, involving scholars in African-American Studies and other disciplines, from which they gain academic recognition and intellectual legitimacy; (3) and a much wider public arena, involving both politically active black communities and larger constituencies of journalists, philanthropists, and politicians, from which they gain political support, as well as capital. (Small, 1999: 667) Recent work in the emergence of disciplines, such as Gaziano's the emergence of human ecology, "Ecological Metaphor as Scientific Boundary Work Innovation and Authority in Interwar Sociology and Biology", focus almost exclusively on the academic arena. (Small, 1999: 667)

A relatively stable network of scholars, who gave legitimacy to the work being undertaken at the Temple Black Studies department, increased its reputation, and assured its institutional survival. Throughout Asante's tenure as chair, the department enjoyed the support and involvement of several leaders of the community. Theoretically, Asante defined Africology as a "liberating discipline." That is, Africology would be "founded on assumptions that dignify humans rather than negate them," and would, in its research, "propose concrete actions" that improve the conditions of the black community. (Small, 1999: 679-81)

At Harvard, throughout its first twenty years of existence, the department had failed repeatedly to attract faculty, and had developed a negative reputation among faculty in other universities. The university attempted to persuade literary critic Henry Louis Gates, who, after some negotiation, accepted the position of chair as well as director of the W.E.B. DuBois Institute for Afro-American Research. Under Gates, and

with the full support of incoming President Neil Rudenstein, the Afro-American Studies department would become arguably the top department in the nation. Attracting scholars, who had high reputations in their own disciplines, did much to improve the stability and status of the Afro-American Studies department. Because it aimed to attract the faculty it did, the department had to develop an interdisciplinary approach. (Small, 1999: 684-8)

In Seeking Half our Brains: Reflections on the Social Context of Interdisciplinary Research and Development, Rhoades analyzed his experience in a distinct institutional context to point to commonalities of experience that grow from the broad structural issues of how the social sciences are positioned and rewarded within research organizations, whether applied or academic. He argues that the status of social research in many Consultative Group for International Agriculture Research (CGIAR) centres, regardless of the organizational setting or personality of the researcher, lessens the potential of social science to help develop agriculture. (Rhoades: 2005, 1) He suggested that a better understanding of the 'sociology (or politics) of knowledge' will more clearly reveal the problems faced by social scientists and offer enlightened managers a better way of balancing the interdisciplinary process so that technical, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions are accounted for through research and effectively utilized in application and policy. The analysis is based on personal 'participant observation' of interdisciplinary dynamics since the early 1960s. In-depth immersions in a wide range of social science roles within agricultural organizations enabled him to compare problems of interdisciplinary research and development. He focused mainly on his 12 years in CGiAR from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. (Rhoades, 2005: 1-2)

Real world problems, hunger, low production, polluted water, or genetic erosion, are by their nature interdisciplinary since they involve biology, ecology, economics, and social questions. Hence interdisciplinary teams make good sense. From around 1975 to 1990 CIP (Centre of International Potato Research) was a hotbed of disciplinary experimentation since social scientists participated in interdisciplinary teams. Economics was the dominant human science in all CGIAR centres. In Peru, where CIP is headquartered, anthropology is a strong academic discipline on par with economics in the universities as well as in civil-society organizations. Social scientists were employed at CIP and other international agriculture centres in the late 1970s and early 1980s mainly because donors provided earmarked funds for issues such as gender, social impact assessment, or nutrition. (Rhoades, 2005: 2-3)

Young anthropologists had been ill-prepared by their academic programmes to work on interdisciplinary teams, where they had to blend and modify anthropological methods and skills to match focused research agendas. (Rhoades, 2005: 5) Anthropologists and sociologists were vulnerable to scrutiny, especially from economists who were still marginal in their newly won 'insider' status and thus felt most threatened by the newcomers. The early fate of many social scientists, which was more a consequence of institutional failure than success, was in large part unavoidable and a natural process of social dynamics. (Rhoades, 2005: 6)

A university in the US is very different from an international agriculture research centre. First, a US university's primary mission is teaching and basic scholarship, not technology development and applied research. Second, the US university is organized along lines of general colleges: e.g, arts, science, agriculture, medicine, law, and canonical departments

of academic disciplines such as genetics, anthropology, agronomy, economics. This classification is very different from the problem focused areas of the CGIAR centres. Third, the sheer complexity and size of a large US land-grant college dwarfs in all respects even the largest CGIAR centres in terms of scientists and staff. A typical land-grant university may have 100 times the number of scientists that work in an international centre. Fourth, rewards are given for individual effort, and teamwork is not a normal part of academic culture. Everything in the university is structured in opposition to team work, especially across disciplines. (Rhoades, 2005: 9)

One commonality between the US university and CGIAR centres is the prestige and resources given to colleges, departments, and faculty excelling in basic research in the natural or biological sciences. Rhoades learned that big science interdisciplinary research as well as international development was a growing trend among US academics. A social scientist in a US university is first assigned to teach undergraduates. But the primary role of their colleagues in the biological sciences was research, while undergraduate teaching was secondary or non-existent. (Rhoades, 2005: 9-10) The social scientist teaches the biological scientist does research. In the minds of the people who run the university, the statuses of social and biological scientists have always been that way and will stay that way. As in CGIAR, the role of the social scientists is ascribed - it cannot be escaped regardless of achievement. (Rhoades, 2005: 11)

Social scientists in land-grant colleges are rarely given the coveted title of research professor despite acquiring lucrative grants and performing excellently. (Rhoades, 2005: 11) Rhoades' aim was to open a dialogue on

the role of social science in the interdisciplinary process. The CGIAR centres are light-years ahead of the university. After years of interdisciplinary work in the international centres, and in the universities, the boundaries between the social and biological sciences are far more permeable than we realized back in the mid-1970s. (Rhoades,2005 : 13)

5. The Sociology of Organizations

Similarly, another study of the evolution of disciplines basing itself on the emergence of 11 cross-disciplines at Emory University, examined the initiatives undertaken by academic leaders at the university and attempted to learn how the cross-disciplines formed and flourished. The study is part of a systematic exploration at Emory of successful interdisciplinary academic programs and the conditions that support them. (Frost et al, 2004: 462)

At Emory as well as at universities across the United States, scholars cross disciplines to address important problems that extend beyond the scope of traditional knowledge fields. This pattern supports historian Roger Geiger's (1990) contention that interdisciplinary programs play a mediating role by linking the needs of knowledge societies and the capacity of universities to produce knowledge. These new programs help institutions retain their most prominent scholars, secure external funds, and increase their prestige. Partnerships between the United States government and many American universities during and after World War II prompted the early initiatives. The most formal and prominent of these partnerships took the form of "organized research units". Since interdisciplinary research tends to be more applied than traditional disciplinary inquiries, these units complement the research mission of individual departments while providing a buffer between public demand

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for applied research and the academy's intellectual core. (Frost et al, 2004: 462)

The highly professional nature of faculty work calls for collegial styles of governance and interdisciplinary interaction among scholars. On the other hand, rational decision-making and standard operating procedures call for formal hierarchies at the university, school, or department level. Interdisciplinary programs challenge typical academic structures and norms. In most research universities, administrative structures and policies favor traditional departments and disciplines with which interdisciplinary initiatives compete for intellectual and resource capital. Some disciplines are more permeable than others. The humanities and social sciences are considered more holistic, personal, and value laden, and less codified than the physical or natural sciences. A case study of two interdisciplinary initiatives at Harvard revealed how traditional structures and innovation across disciplines can clash (Bohen and Stiles, 1998). The findings showed that scholars add interdisciplinary activities to their more traditional responsibilities, rather than substituting one for the other. (Frost et al, 2004: 463)

Emory consists of schools of arts and sciences, a graduate school, and six professional schools. A major donation in 1979 allowed the university to transform itself from a regional university with a strong teaching mission into a major research institution. In 1994, Emory joined the Association of American Universities (AAU), composed of the top 62 research universities in North America. (Frost et al, 2004: 463) In this study the researchers used a qualitative case study approach and invited an advisory group of faculty to provide feedback on study design, interview protocol construction, and data analysis. They selected 11 initiatives from over 40

programs that crossed at least two schools of the University for In-depth Study, including African American studies, behavioral neuroscience, ecology and disease, health and society, East European studies, global learning, law and religion, psychoanalytic studies, religion and science, injury control, and violence studies. (Frost et al, 2004: 464)

They conducted open-ended, semi-structured interviews with leaders of the 11 initiatives and used program literature to supplement the interview data. The protocol included 40 questions about the origin, mission, organizational structure, support, barriers to implementation and development, and future plans of cross-school initiatives. (Frost et al, 2004: 464) Although the 11 programs varied widely in scope and content, the interviews suggest several important common factors in their genesis and evolution. Most of the 11 programs started because one or two scholars were committed to an idea and worked on it together, day after day. (Frost et al, 2004: 465) Team-teaching encouraged faculty to reach out to colleagues beyond their discipline and strengthen relationships across departments and schools. (Frost et al, 2004: 466) The first asset that leaders cultivated concerned the mission of the program and the outside connections it could establish. (Frost et al, 2004: 466) Early support or seed money from central administrators appears to be a second crucial asset that many successful programs share. (Frost et al, 2004: 467) The initiatives adapted to the changing interests of faculty members as well as the changing patterns of resources, and technologies. Inspired by several professors' interest in team-teaching, one program grew to serve the research interests of a broader group. (Frost et al, 2004: 468) According to the leaders they interviewed, faculty who may not fit within traditional boundaries can flourish in interdisciplinary programs. (Frost et al, 2004: 469)

This study included only initiatives that had a research mission. One third of the programs offer a degree or minor concentration. All offer undergraduate courses, open lectures, internships, or training opportunities for graduate students. Their study concurs with Geiger (1990), who observed that, when cross-disciplinary programs address societal problems, they serve as a buffer between disciplines. Initiatives anchored in health sciences or other professions are more likely to be funded by external sources. In contrast, initiatives anchored in the humanities and social sciences tend to face more difficult funding challenges. (Frost et al, 2004: 469) Because cross-disciplinary programs rely on dynamic and visionary founders, they may lose momentum when a new leader takes over. (Frost et al, 2004: 471) Their previous studies suggest that effective support flows from the intellectual passions of scholars, rather than spinning down from the top in artificial or bureaucratic ways. Their new findings strongly suggest that interdisciplinary initiatives are more successful when intellectual goals shape administrative structures. They recommend that institutions nurture such initiatives by maintaining flexible administrative practices, providing seed money, reducing the burdens and improving the rewards for scholarship outside departmental boundaries, and helping scholars communicate across departments, schools, and initiatives. (Frost et al, 2004: 472)

6. The Politics of Disciplines

Elizabeth Bird's study on "Disciplining the Interdisciplinary: Radicalism and the Academic Curriculum", interviewed women academics responsible for introducing interdisciplinary women's studies degrees in the United Kingdom and North America. She argues that the power of the established disciplines to incorporate new knowledge, without ceding

territory to those who were intent on a wholesale reform of the system, is an illustration of how academic knowledge and academic institutions maintain their essential conservatism, preserving the status quo by limited concessions to innovation. Over 60 feminist academics were invited to reflect on their own engagement in the curriculum, in a period beginning about 30 years ago. They worked in higher education institutions in England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Canada and the US. (Bird, 2001: 463)

The 1975 Sex Discrimination Act had declared separate curricula for girls and boys in schools unlawful. Most commentators agree that the British university curriculum has been relatively ignored by research and commentary. (Bird, 2001: 464) The academy avoids interrogations of its practices and maintains the 'Oxbridge tradition of courses as private projects'. The academic curriculum remains unexamined. The origins of Oxford University, at the end of the middle ages, the concept of a liberal education, based on the Seven Liberal Arts – the 'trivium' of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, and the 'quadrivium' of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy – was revitalized as the universities fought for their independence from the Church. (Bird, 2001: 465)¹. In contrast, British academic radicals were linked to both socialism and Marxism. For Bourdieu, the 'Academy claims the monopoly of consecration of contemporary creators' and 'the university claims the monopoly of transmission of the consecrated works of the past'. (Bourdieu, 1971, p.179) For Bernstein, knowledge is controlled by codes of framing that maintain strong disciplinary boundaries, and individuals (students and

¹ Veblen (1968) and Flexner (1930) had attempted to analyse the sociological role of universities in the US.

faculty) are socialized into the discipline; 'the subject becomes the linchpin of the identity' (Bernstein, 1971, p.56); Bird, 2001: 465)

Four fundamental principles underpinned the 'new knowledge' in the US context: relevance, experience, liberation and totality. In Britain, totality was also a theme, but here inflected in the single unifying explanatory framework of modern European Marxism. In both countries, and in the context of a radical politics, academic knowledge was seen as essentially political and the new knowledge positioned itself as a direct critique of the 'old knowledge'. (Bird, 2001: 466) Old knowledge was also exemplified by disciplinary boundaries. According to Becher (1989), disciplines are a question of 'tribes and territories'. Disciplines/disciples fiercely defend their spaces, patrol boundaries, and regard those who either intrude or disrupt with suspicion. Many subjects are in themselves interdisciplinary: education is one example. (Bird, 2001: 467)

A discipline corresponds to an abstract idea of an essential corpus of knowledge and texts within a given framework. A discipline is an artificial construct determined by relations of power and authority (Squires, 1990, p.101) In both the US and Britain, interdisciplinarity grew out of radical political movements. (Bird, 2001: 467) Bird looks at how the interdisciplinary project was disciplined: at how the established disciplines were able to either re-assert or retain control over the curriculum, and the process by which this was achieved. She is looking at what is taught rather than how it is taught. (Bird, 2001: 468) The 'connectedness' of everything was to lead to the need for interdisciplinarity. Disciplines were particularistic, and theories and approaches had to be holistic. (Bird, 2001: 469) Women's Studies has been very instrumental in breaking down barriers between disciplines and

in getting theoretical ideas discussed across disciplines. The actual business of getting a new degree approved was much more difficult in Britain than in the US. (Bird, 2001: 470) In both educational systems, there were real problems in maintaining a space that was on the margins of the mainstream. (Bird, 2001: 471) The establishment of Women's Studies degrees belongs to a particular moment in history. It was a moment when radical politics tried to enter the academy. The university appeared to women's liberationists to be an institution well worth re-shaping. (Bird, 2001: 473)

7. From School to the University: The Invention of Disciplines

Ivor Goodson has undertaken a case study of the evolution of geography as an academic subject. Geography commences as a low-status school subject. Progressively the subject is redefined under the guidance of the geographical association as an academic discipline. Finally, a university base is secured and "New Geography" is launched. Contemporary accounts of school subjects arise from two major perspectives the sociological and the philosophical. The work of Gramsci follow Marx in viewing education in a capitalist society as a 'tool of ruling class interest'. (Goodson, 1981: 163) The contemporary British educational system is dominated by academic curricula with a rigid stratification of knowledge. (Goodson, 1981: 164) Some of Bourdieu's work was on the university and looked at the theme of reproduction through education and included an important section on "The Examination within the Structure and History of the Educational System".

Hirst and Peters argue that the central objectives of education include the development of the mind and that such objectives are best pursued by the development of 'forms of knowledge'. (Goodson, 1981: 165) The

intellectual discipline is created and systematically defined by a community of scholars, normally working in a university department, and is then 'translated' for use as a school subject. Closer analysis of school subjects uncovers a number of unexplained paradoxes. First, the school context is in many ways different from the university context (broader problems of pupil motivation, ability and control require consideration). Second, school subjects are often either divorced from their disciplinary base or do not have a disciplinary base. Many school subjects represent autonomous communities. (Goodson, 1981: 166)

In the late nineteenth century geography was beginning to establish a place in the curricula of public, grammar and elementary schools. It was in the public and grammar schools that geography needed to establish its intellectual as well as pedagogical credibility. In elementary schools geography was rapidly seen as affording utilitarian and pedagogic possibilities in the education of the children of working people. The uptake of the subject grew considerably in the period following the 1870 Education Act. In 1875 elementary geography was added to the main list of class subjects examined in Elementary Schools. In 1893 the Geographical Association was founded: "to further the knowledge of geography and the teaching of geography in all categories of educational institutions from preparatory school to university in the UK and abroad". (Goodson, 1981: 168) The 1904 Secondary regulations effectively defined the traditional subjects to be offered in secondary schools; Geography's inclusion in the regulations was a major staging-post in its acceptance and recognition and in the broad-based take-up of external examinations in geography in secondary schools. At this stage Geography was included in many Examination Board regulations both at School Certificate and Higher School Certificate as a main subject. (Goodson,

1981: 168) The teaching of geography was to be exclusively in the hands of trained geographers and the universities were to be encouraged to establish schools of geography turning out geographers. (Goodson, 1981: 169) In the 1930s the Norwood Committee was concerned by the way geography appeared to effortlessly change direction and definition, thereby intruding on the territory of other subjects and disciplines. They were concerned with the temptation afforded by what they called the “expansiveness of geography” for “environment is a term which is easily expanded to cover every condition and every phase of activity which makes up normal everyday experience”. (Goodson, 1981: 169) The central problem remained the establishment of departments in universities where geographers could be made and the piecemeal changes in pursuit of pupil relevance and utility could be controlled and directed. The increasingly academic presentation of the school subject provided more pressure on the universities to respond to the demand for the training of geography specialists. (Goodson, 1981: 170) As a recent president of the Geographical Association has noted “the recognition of our subject’s status among university discipline ... could never have been achieved without [the] remarkable stimulus and demand injected from our schools”. (Goodson, 1981: 170)

After World War II geography departments were established in most universities and the subject had a recognizable core of identity. In 1954 Honeybone wrote “... geography is forcing its complete acceptance as a major discipline in the universities, and that geographers are welcomed into commerce, industry and the professions, because they are well educated men and women ...”. (Goodson, 1981: 171) However, geography still faced problems of academic status within some universities. The battle for new geography was perhaps the final clash

between those traditions in geography representing more pedagogic and utilitarian traditions (notably the fieldwork geographers and some regionalists) and those pushing for total academic acceptance. The Madingley Lectures in 1963 effectively launched the era of 'new geography'. (Goodson, 1981: 172) A year later the President of the Geographical Association argued that geography in universities is in fact becoming so sophisticated, and its numerous branches in diverse fields at times so narrowly specialized, that sooner or later, the question must arise as to how much longer the subject can effectively be held together. (Goodson, 1981: 174) The alliance between university status and school status ensured that ultimately the Geographical Association would embrace 'new geography'. By 1970 geography had finished its long march to acceptance as an academic discipline: from now on its future would indeed be determined not in the school classroom but on the intellectual battlefields of the universities. (Goodson, 1981: 176)

The problem of the formation of disciplines in both university and school contexts is anchored within larger imperatives of disciplining society, but equally within the sociology of disciplines and knowledge. Further, disciplines and interdisciplinarity are markers of the stages in the evolution of structures and institutions of education. The genealogy of academic disciplines needs to draw upon a variety of disciplinary frameworks. In other words, the study of interdisciplinarity is itself rooted in interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks – the sociology of education, knowledge and organizations.

Concluding Remarks

This review of the literature on the formation of disciplines within studies of the history of education has sought to highlight through a survey of

case studies, the different approaches to the formation of disciplines. These approaches stress the fact that disciplines are socially constructed and are not a priori formations woven together by some epistemological or cognitive unity. The coherence of a discipline is something that is arrived at through the interplay and negotiation of the epistemological with a variety of sociological, cultural and political factors. While the politics of knowledge has for sometime been a frame within educational studies, the idea that the formation of disciplines are conditioned by policy imperatives, the social status of the practitioners of disciplines as well as their struggle for improving the status of disciplines has not received much attention. The foregoing review brings together, but does not necessarily synthesize the theoretical insights of some of these studies – that task will have to be reserved for a doctoral dissertation. On the other hand, the present dissertation hopes to employ some of these frames in the study of the establishment of the Department of English in Chulalongkorn University and draw some comparisons with the Indian case. Thus it employs the qualitative methods of sociology along with a social-history approach.

Objectives of the Study

The present attempts to: [1] explore the establishment of English language teaching programme within the framework of higher education in Thailand. In order to do so it hopes to: [2] identify the factors that led to the establishment of these schools. Any study on the formation of disciplines needs to examine according to the frameworks discussed above: [3] the social factors influencing the process of curriculum development. Finally, the study poses [4] some comparative questions from the Thai and Indian historical experiences on English language

education. In order to explore and elaborate upon the above objectives the following research questions need to be answered:

1. When and why was it decided to establish a department of English at Chulalongkorn University?
2. Who were the Thai and American/British actors involved in developing the department?
3. Who were the faculty involved in developing the curriculum?
4. Where did the first faculty members train? And to which nations did they belong?
5. Did the programme interface with other educational and cultural programmes?
6. How was the course “naturalized”/“domesticated” into the Thai environment?
 - 6.1 How was the curriculum developed? This would in turn entail studying:
 - 6.2 The selection of literary texts for the curriculum and the reasons underlying the selection
 - 6.3 The formation of the department as one of English language and literature
7. What political and economic interests shaped or stimulated the programme?
8. What careers/professions were envisaged for the students enrolled in the programme?
9. Which international cultural agencies helped get the programme off the ground?
10. What was the nature of the student response to the programme?
11. How did the formulation of English language/literature as a discipline in Thailand differ from its formulation in India?
12. As a discipline, how did the programme crystallize?

13. How did the programme differ from the process of institutionalization of the discipline in India?

14. What is the place of English in non-Western cultures?

Methodology

The study relies upon secondary source material on the formation of departments of English literature in India and England. In the case of Thailand, the study draws upon secondary studies as well as primary source material in Thai national and university archives and libraries. Further, qualitative social science methods are employed such as structured interviews. Former and present faculty members, students (former and present), as well as educationalists and policy makers were interviewed in order to understand the variety of social, economic and policy factors and contexts that resulted in the invention of the discipline in Thailand.

Chapter III
**A Comparative History of English Language
and Literature Education**

A Brief History of Higher Education in England

Primary education in the past differed from twentieth-century primary schooling. Primary education was earlier defined as fundamental or basic education. (Aldrich, 1982) Traditionally male and female children were accorded different roles and status in English society. The medieval period was a period of role differentiation and male domination overlooked in many respects by religion and the church. Medieval crafts were primarily the task of boys, but girls were apprenticed in embroidery and similar occupations. Throughout English history the domestic role and domestic education, were considered more appropriate for girls. (Aldrich, 1982: 11)

The church and the law, and the educational establishments connected with them were considered male professions. The universities, Inns of Court and grammar schools were reserved for males. However, in the medieval period there were instances of girls attending grammar schools to acquire reading and writing skills in English rather than in Latin. Some girls of wealthier parentage, like boys, were educated in the homes of the nobility. Nunneries, like monasteries, were responsible for the training of their novices. Their schools also provided some day and boarding education for those not intending to enter the cloisters. Ideas of female domesticity and male vocationalism have continued to influence the world of education from the medieval period until the twentieth century. (Aldrich, 1982: 12)

HOWEVER, SIXTEENTH century England, the England of Queens Mary and Elizabeth, furnished several examples of highly educated, even scholarly, women. Modern and classical languages became accepted subjects of study for some girls of the upper ranks of society. A general concern for the moral and religious welfare and basic literacy of the working classes predominated in nineteenth and twentieth century elementary schools. There were differences in the curriculum for boys and girls: cookery and dressmaking for girls, wood-work for boys. Nevertheless, legislation for compulsory school attendance extended equally for boys and girls. (Aldrich, 1982: 12) Family, gender, class, population, investment and consumption have constituted the terms of debate in history of education in England and Wales. Consequently, society and education are inextricably interwoven. (Aldrich, 1982: 19-20)

By the mid-19th century the rationalism of the enlightenment, a belief in progress in all things material and moral, the ideas of nationalism and liberalism and the increasing reality of collectivism, combined to produce the ideal of national education. National education was to extend to all strata of society. Public schools, Oxford and Cambridge Universities continued to play a key role in preserving the aristocratic nature of English government and society. (Aldrich, 1982: 27) Liberal education was designed to produce a healthy mind, and universities were to be essentially places of residence and discussion rather than of research. The ideal English gentleman was an amateur. (Aldrich, 1982: 29)

After the World War II the number of universities in Great Britain increased to 43, including the Open University. Higher education was now defined by courses that surpassed the standard set by the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education or the Ordinary National Certificate. The expansion of opportunities in higher education was made possible partly by increasing the

size of existing universities, partly by creation of new universities, and partly by the establishment in 1964 of the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) which can grant degrees and other academic qualifications (comparable to those awarded by universities) to students in institutions such as polytechnics, which do not have the power to award their own degrees. (Reference Division, 1974 : 31)

Between 1964 and 1967 ten universities and two university colleges were established by altering existing colleges of advanced technology and other equivalent institutions, in addition to which four new universities were created. (Reference Division, 1974: 31). The duration of University degree courses generally extended over three to four years, though in architecture, medicine, dentistry and veterinary science five or six years are required. Over 75% of the students in Great Britain opt for honours courses. To obtain a Master's degree further study or research is required at most universities. (Reference Division, 1974: 32)

The traditional honours course involved three to four years of special study, but in recent times the content and arrangement of many honours courses has broadened considerably. Courses in arts, science and social science are offered by most universities. (Reference Division, 1974: 32) University teaching combines lectures, practical classes in science subjects and small-group teaching in either seminars or tutorials, the last being a distinctive feature of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Most members of the academic staff devote time to research and all universities have postgraduate research students. A postgraduate student usually carries out independent research study. (Reference Division, 1974: 33) Although ninety per cent of the universities depend on the Government for financial support, it does not control their work

or teaching, nor does it have direct dealings with the universities. (Reference Division, 1974 : 37)

The British universities enjoy autonomy. The trend was set by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which are among the oldest universities in Europe. All the other universities in England and Wales are modern institutions, though the universities of Durham and London are now over a hundred years old. The University of Wales was created in 1893; Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Bristol, and Reading received their charters between 1900 and 1926. Oxford and Cambridge occupy a unique position; their social prestige is far above that of any of the other universities. Both are collegiate universities; each is essentially a collection of self-governing and largely autonomous colleges. (Dent, 1948: 30) The universities of Oxford and Cambridge examine and grant degrees, and the professors are university officers. But the university has no authority over the teaching provided by a college, or over the discipline within its walls. The academic year is divided into three terms of eight weeks each, with a long vacation from mid-June to mid-October. It was still true that the majority of undergraduates came from relatively well-to-do homes. The modern universities on the other hand are products of the industrial and social development of Britain in the nineteenth century. (Dent, 1948: 31) The modern universities differ in many respects from Oxford and Cambridge. They are not entirely self-governing. They are in the main non-residential, and draw most of their students from the immediate locality. They are organized in faculties, not colleges, and have no tutorial system. They are fully co-educational, with no discrimination between men and women students. (Dent, 1948: 32)

The University of London is unique. In 1826 a group of Nonconformists founded the University College London, as a non-sectarian college to provide university education for Nonconformists, who were then excluded on religious

grounds from Oxford and Cambridge. London University was created in 1836 with an Examining Board authorized to grant degrees. (Dent, 1948: 32) Durham University on the other hand was founded in 1832. It is the only collegiate university in Britain outside Oxford and Cambridge. The administration of the ancient and modern universities is different. Oxford University is administered by a “Congregation” consisting of Doctors and Masters in residence, which works largely through its executive committee, called the “Hebdomadal Council”. At Cambridge the corresponding bodies are the “Senate” and the “Council of the Senate”. At most of the modern universities each Faculty has its Board, which reports to the “Senate”, an academic body representative of the whole university, on matters affecting curricula and discipline and to the “Council on the matters of finance and organization. Final decisions are taken by the “Court of the University”. (Dent, 1948: 33) Every university has over the decades achieved special distinction in one or more fields of learning. Oxford has always excelled in the humanities, Cambridge is world-famous for its research in pure science; theology at Durham, commerce at Birmingham, technology at Leeds, and agriculture at Reading. (Dent, 1948: 33)

English Language and Literature Education in England

More than any other subject, English has been at the centre of academic debates about the shaping and boundaries of knowledge. It has often been torn between the institutional imperative to stake out its own territory, define its activities and justify its autonomy from other areas of study. All the major critical developments and controversies concerning English since its inception as a subject to be taught at the university have been related to how it is to be developed: is it a single discipline or does it entertain interdisciplinary possibilities. (Moran, 2002: 19) Critics such as D.J. Palmer have traced the

roots of English as the 'poor man's classic' to the late eighteenth and nineteenth century Mechanics' Institutes, evening classes and non-Oxbridge colleges and universities, where it was sometimes taught alongside other 'national' subjects such as history and geography (Palmer 1965 cited in Moran, 2002: 20) It was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that English was fully accepted as a reputable area of study, largely as a result of its being established within the elite universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Even then, it was looked down upon by the more traditional discipline as what would nowadays be called a 'Mickey Mouse' subject, an easy option for the less able students. (Moran, 2002: 20)

Unlike many other academic disciplines, English as a course in an institution of higher education does not make a strong connection between education and training for future careers. This is part of a wider question about the non-specialized nature of English and the fact that its object of study – literature – is generally accessible to those working outside the discipline. Even with the huge boom in popular science and history writing, works on fiction, poetry and drama greatly outnumber all other genres of publication. This is because literature is about life in all its diversity – love, sex, friendship, family relationships, aging, death, social and historical change, religious faith, intellectual ideas, and so on. (Moran, 2002: 20 - 21) As an academic subject, English emerged with the birth of the modern, professionalized, research university towards the end of the nineteenth century, at the time when new subjects in the sciences and social sciences were proliferating and consolidating their boundaries. (Moran, 2002: 22) However, English even then seemed rather woolly and ill-focused for many. In 1887, E.A. Freeman, the Regius Professor of History at Oxford, opposed the establishment of an English School on the grounds that 'English literature is only chatter about Shelley' and that 'we do not want ... subjects which are merely light, elegant, interesting. As subjects

for examination, we must have subjects in which it is possible to examine.
(Graff 1989 cited in Moran, 2002: 23)

Philosophers of science such as Karl Popper and Stephen Toulmin have proposed a distinction between 'hard' disciplines such as the natural sciences and 'soft' disciplines such as the humanities and social sciences, which are perceived as being at an early stage of evolutionary development, not yet having attained the status of a fully-fledge academic subject. The English School at Oxford, which was established in 1893, seemed to accept that it lagged behind the more traditional disciplines in this regard. From the beginning, Oxford English tried to make itself 'compact', emphasizing linguistic and historical scholarship rather than literary criticism or appreciation, by forging strong links with philology. (Moran, 2002: 23 - 24)

Philology was a subject that originated in the classical world, but emerged as a modern discipline towards the end of the eighteenth century, particularly in Germany. It involved the close examination of the textual sources of past cultures and societies, and could be applied to a wide range of material such as classical, legal, philosophical or historical texts. As the subject developed throughout the nineteenth century, it became more concerned with the science of language in relation to its historical development and established a close relationship with the new discipline of linguistics. (Moran, 2002: 24)

The English course at Oxford, along with other English degrees offered throughout the United Kingdom, still requires a detailed study of Old English and the history and use of the English language. Another attempt to make English more systematic and methodical was made in 1920s by I.A. Richards, who succeeded in placing the activity of literary criticism at the centre of the new subject. Richards's counter-response to the ascendancy of the natural

sciences in contemporary society was to institute literary studies as a scientific, disciplinary activity. (Moran, 2002: 24 – 25)

The study of English at Cambridge, which later had a deep impact all over the world - through its central figure, F.R. Leavis - was always more interdisciplinary than English at Oxford. When the English School was first established at Cambridge in 1917, the lecturers appointed had been trained in other subjects such as classics, philosophy, history and, in the case of Richards himself, psychoanalysis. Its first degree was entitled 'Literature, Life and Thought'. This suggests that Cambridge English had an expansiveness and openness to new approaches which were sharply opposed to Oxford's scholasticism. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch was made the first Professor of English in 1912. (Moran, 2002: 26) Leavis disapproved of what he saw as the deadening academicism of the Oxford English School, which 'expresses itself in compulsory Anglo-Saxon and the naïve associated notions of "language" and "discipline"'. (Leavis 1969 cited in Moran 2002: 27) Leavis's 'Sketch for an English School', written in 1940 and aimed at redesigning the Cambridge English Course proposed that students of English should study a foreign language, comparative literature and political, economic, social and intellectual history alongside the established literary canon. (Leavis 1948 cited in Moran 2002: 27)

History of English Language and Literature Education in India

The official study of the English language in India has a history of over a hundred and fifty years; in the majority of Indian Universities today English continues to be a compulsory subject, the medium of instruction, as well as an optional Honours undergraduate programme leading to postgraduate and research studies. It is not surprising that English literature should continue to be

part of the academic establishment. The fall in the student enrolment in English Honours courses, the regional/political opposition to English medium education – all suggest that this challenge is representative of the historical moment. (Rajan, 1992: 1)

The academic study of English literature as a subject in Indian universities is indistinguishable from the curriculum shaped for it in the metropolitan university in the west. The corpus of English literature is divided by period or genre. The subject is studied in this form because it presupposes the student's intimate and long-standing familiarity with the English language; the English language itself has been taught, through many years of schooling, via the English literary 'classic'. (Rajan, 1992: 6) The disciplinary formation of English in India therefore needs to be contextualized within at least three broad areas: its history; language politics; and the socio-cultural scene of education. (Rajan, 1992: 8)

The introduction of English education in India in the nineteenth century, specifically of English literary studies, has been extensively researched and commented upon by various scholars. The recent researches of Chris Baldick, Gauri Viswanathan and Franklin Court have disclosed the multiple purposes that the study of English literature was intended to serve, both in England and the colonies, in terms of social reform and control. (Rajan, 1992: 8) Thomas Babington Macaulay's education minute of 1835 recommended to the Governor General in Council that Britain officially support English education in India and withdraw support to Arabic and Sanskrit education. The official introduction of English in the Indian system of higher education was preceded by the complex history of its consolidation as a recognizable body of knowledge and as a collection of texts in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. (Rajan, 1992: 9)

A recognizable 'English' literature acquired form in Britain concurrently with the project of imperialism, within a common social and historical configuration. Far from the scene of its production, Britain, English literature could, in the colonies, assume a fixed and more homogeneous nationalist cast. (Rajan, 1992: 9) The Anglicist advocacy of English as the language of education for Indians was by no means the first colonial intervention in these spheres. Large-scale linguistic engineering had been underway from at least the end of the eighteenth century, involving a long process of the standardization of the Indian classical and vernacular languages and literatures, through the production of 'authentic' texts, translations, lexicons, grammars, prose writings, etc. (Rajan, 1992: 10)

The establishment of English as the medium of educational instruction and as a subject for study must be viewed against the background of the disciplinary formation of English as a branch of knowledge, and the early history of colonialist interventions in Indian education, language and literature. This 'pre-history' reveals that neither the formation of a discipline nor the implementation of a national education policy is achieved by fiat. (Rajan, 1992: 11) The native elites had no difficulty in accepting, and in fact demanding, English education in the first instance, as a means to securing employment in the colonial bureaucracy or acquiring knowledge of western sciences. The English book was undoubtedly appropriated in complex and mediated ways within native arguments for political representation, for articulating demands, and for questioning the rulers. But in either case, as Gauri Viswanathan has shown, the English book remained uncontaminated by the material practices of colonialism. English literature was not indicted on ideological grounds by association with the English ruler. (Rajan, 1992: 12)

In India, English is only a second language in most states but it also shares the status of the official national language with Hindi, and is the language of state administration and the law courts. The importance of English in India is its global currency; as the language of technology and international commerce. The preserve of English in India is guarded by interests predominantly defined by ideology, region and class. The chief parties to the conflict are: those opposing the advocates of a national language; the linguistic regions; the tension between the privileged and the less privileged classes. For advocates of Hindi, the use of English is anti-national because it displaces the 'rashtrabhasha', Hindi. English is precisely claimed by the opponents of Hindi as the pan-Indian, the link, the national language, the logic being that it is not the first language of any specific Indian region. (Rajan, 1992: 14)

While Hindi is the language of roughly half the Indian population, the other half speaks a multitude of languages unrelated to it. Therefore the continuation of English in these states ensures that there will be no imposition of Hindi. (Rajan, 1992: 15) Language in society can be hegemonic in two spheres: culture and education. Thus it is pointed out that in India it is possible to distinguish between the spread of Hindi in the cultural arena, and the influence of English in education. In post-Independence India the reorganization of states on a linguistic basis, the vigorous development of print media in the regional languages, and the rise of new socio-cultural groups that have been educated through the medium of a regional language are all factors that have contributed to the influence of Indian languages. (Rajan, 1992: 16) Beyond the influence of the high cultural product, literature, there is also the wide spread use of English in journalism – a fifth of all newspapers are English language dailies; and in academic publications – a third of all Indian publishing is in English. (Rajan, 1992: 17)

English is the first language of official administration in the country and a knowledge of it is crucial for white-collar job-seekers. It therefore remains a major component of Indian higher education. (Rajan, 1992: 19) As higher education empowers the bourgeoisie, the latter inevitably influence the shape of Indian education. (Rajan, 1992 : 20) Both the structure and the content of university education in India are based upon the British model, and have remained largely unchanged in the post-Independence decades. The fossilization of the study of English literature is part of the overall resistance to the forces of change visible in higher education as a whole. Since a high degree of specialization prevails in the Honours degree programmes, English literature, like other subjects, it has been argued is studied in a relatively isolated and hence largely irrelevant way. (Rajan, 1992: 24)

Thus there is a conspicuous refusal to forge disciplinary ties between English and other language departments in colleges. Many English Honours courses have no second language requirement; and the study of a subsidiary subject is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. (Rajan, 1992: 24) There are at least two objections that could be raised at any seminar on the crisis in English studies in India. The first would be a denial of the state of the state of crisis. A college teacher is once reported to have remarked at a seminar on the subject, the only crisis in English studies in India is that there is no crisis. (Rajan, 1992: 25) The second would be a reaffirmation that the colonial past of English is an irrelevant consideration, and hence/or that English literature is a repository of universal values. Both these are still current and influential positions. (Rajan, 1992: 26)

Disciplinary developments in the Anglo-American academy have their inevitable impact on the study of English elsewhere in the world, there is need to broadly distinguish between the internal destabilization of the discipline in the Anglo-American world, and the factors which bring the to crisis to India

from the outside. English Literature in America and to a smaller extent in Britain has been problematized, in the immediate institutional context, by a radical rethinking of issues of textuality and interpretation. In India the specific features of post-colonial issues, language politics, and the state of higher education provide a different context for viewing the situation of English studies. (Rajan, 1992: 26)

The setting up of Navodaya schools and the decline in the quality of literacy across India have a significant bearing on English studies today. (Viswanathan, 1992: 30) Prior to the founding of the Indian university system in 1857 on the model of the University College London, Indian schools and colleges were more organically connected, the curriculum of the one usually extending into the other. The university was established as an examining rather than teaching body. University education bore little continuity with the aims of secondary education, and university degrees, linked as they so closely were with employment, acquired an autonomous value. Learning, knowledge, inquiry: these were no longer the motivating principles in the education of Indian youth. A nebulous concept of excellence was promoted. (Viswanathan, 1992 : 31)

The Navodaya schools are an example of how, in the post-independence period, education still continues to grow in the framework of the old structures. (Viswanathan, 1992: 33) English is asked to serve as an avenue to educational opportunity even as it creates a separate constituency. (Viswanathan, 1992: 34) In the nineteenth century the conflict originated from the fact that education in Western culture and Western knowledge was represented as a source of greater equality, whereas the social stratification that the British policy of differentiated education endorsed produced a contrary effect of inequality. (Viswanathan, 1992: 35) The missionaries directly contributed to the formation of the discipline of English literature in India. (Viswanathan, 1992: 37)

English was introduced as a discipline in the university during the age of colonialism, for it was a subject in the curriculum in the colonies before it was institutionalized in England. English literature as a discipline underwent a more powerful and rapid institutionalization in the colonies than in the home country. In 1820s the study of English culture was secured in the British Indian curriculum. English literature was introduced to India following the enactment of the Charter Act of 1813. This act renewed the East India Company's charter for a twenty-year period, producing two major changes in Britain's relationship with her colony: the assumption of a new responsibility toward native education and the relaxation of controls over missionary activity in India. (Viswanathan, 1989: 19) British involvement with Indian education from the beginning was directed toward pruning Oriental literatures of their "undesirable elements". This education was open to all classes of the native population and was oriented to those branches of instruction considered to be of most use to Indian society. The introduction of European science and English as a medium of instruction was deferred on the grounds that the people were not yet ready for it. The tension between increasing involvement in Indian education and enforced non-interference in religion was productively resolved through the introduction of English literature. (Viswanathan, 1989 : 40)

By the 1830s, on the question of education the British in India were divided into two warring cultural and policy camps called the Orientalists and Anglicists. The Orientalists were in favour of providing government support for the study of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. The Anglicists, on the other hand, believed in the supremacy of the English language and literature and the practical advantages that would follow its introduction into India. The Government adopted the Anglicists' suggestions in 1835. (Pandey, 2004: 49 – 50) With the passing of the English Education Act of Governor-General

William Bentinck in 1835, the teaching of Oriental languages was discontinued at the Sanskrit College and the Madrassa and henceforth teaching was conducted entirely in English. (Viswanathan, 1989: 41) Bentinck's English Education Act of 1835 made English the medium of instruction in Indian education. It also required the natives of India to submit to the study of English literature. English existed in India before that time, for instruction in the language had been introduced more than two decades earlier.

The first three universities were set up in 1857 on the western model in the Presidency towns: Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The fourth and fifth Indian universities were established in the 1880s, in Lahore and Allahabad. Of these five universities the jurisdiction of Calcutta University was the most extensive. The next landmark in the progress of university education in India was the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission, in 1902, during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. (Dongerker, 1967: 42) The Indian university system was founded on a theory of culture often referred to as the Filtration Theory. The theory had its origin in a set of practical realities given the extraordinary costs in training and recruiting teachers of English. The theory required the few to teach the many. (Viswanathan, 1989: 149)

The early English curriculum was primarily devoted to language studies. Grammar was not taught separately but alongside the reading of texts, which consisted of parsing, memorization, and recitation. Literature as a discipline was originally introduced in India primarily to convey the mechanics of language. It was transformed into an instrument for ensuring industriousness, efficiency, trustworthiness, and compliance in native subjects. Western literature is often described in missionary publications as a form of intellectual production, in contrast to Oriental literature, which set itself up as a source of divine authority. (Viswanathan, 1989: 105) In other words, English literature

projected itself as Britain's scientific imagination as well, in contrast to the spiritual side of the Indian literary production. The characterization of English literature as intellectual production initiated a different process of reading, requiring the exercise of reason rather than unquestioning faith. Classical literature was read in Europe as literary production and not as stemming from divine authority, as it was in India. (Viswanathan, 1989: 109) In British India, literature was read as an expression of culture. English still remains the language that regulates access to higher education, and is linked to class interest, economic benefits and with the production and reproduction of major forms of social power and cultural privilege. (Joshi, 1994: 2)

The emergence of the discipline of English in colonial India, its rootedness in strategies of sociopolitical control, opens up fresh inquiry into possible implications of empire for current debates on curriculum in general. The knowledge that the discipline of English developed in colonial times would appear likely to produce an interrogation of the premises of the traditional Eurocentric curriculum. The department of English literature formed a large and unified institution within the system of higher education in India. The Committee on Public Instruction, of which Macaulay was President, emphasized higher education in English. The Hindu College was founded with the identical purpose of disseminating knowledge of English literature and modern science and philosophy. The programme of English literature was to serve as an agent in the cultural transformation of the colonies.

Chapter IV

History of English Education in Thailand

In Thailand, the teaching and learning of English began during King Mongkut or King Rama IV's reign (1851-1867). The king himself was the first Thai to learn English and he realized the importance of the language. Therefore he emphasized the place of English in Thai education since it would provide access to the knowledge of science and technology which were considered agents of modernization of the country. (สุทธรพร รัตนกุล. ๒๐๐๖ หน้า ๑) He opened the first school that offered English for ladies from noble families and introduced a policy to modernize the country in order to protect the country from colonialism. The country, it was felt, needed to be westernized by acquiring Western technology, along with its system of administration and business management. (สุทธรพร รัตนกุล. ๒๐๐๖ หน้า ๑๑)

King Rama V promised that "All children, from my own to the poorest, should have an equal opportunity of education". (สุทธรพร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๒๑) He established modern schools both inside and outside the palace such as Tepsirin School where he appointed teachers from the UK and USA. Amongst the first teachers were Francis Patterson from UK and Rev. Samuel McFarland from USA. English Teaching at the time was designed for Thai students to prepare them for studying abroad, in particular those from royal and noble families who studied abroad and later returned home to serve the country as diplomats or in the ministry of foreign trade. The King invited many foreign teachers such as Sir Robert Marrant who taught from his own book 'Knowledge Series or the Fifty

Steps in English' and used the Grammar-Translation method¹. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๒๙) English Teaching in schools emphasized reading, writing, speaking and translation. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๓๐) Translation was considered important for it concurred with the king's policy to train students to import Western knowledge in the Thai language. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๓๑) The students, as pointed out, were from noble families and some came from the middle class. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๓๒)

King Rama VI himself was educated at Oxford University. He was interested in Thai and English literature and poetry. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๓๔) He translated the works of Shakespeare into Thai. His British education convinced him that modern education was the most important instrument in bringing about the democratization of society. He founded the first university in Thailand and named it after his father - Chulalongkorn University. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๓๖) English by then had become a compulsory subject from grade V and was taught in secondary school. The subject was taught by rote memorization and Grammar-Translation which had been popular until 1960. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๓๗) The teaching was based on English and American text books. For example, Dent's Text, Walter Ripmon's First English and Pitman's Commercial Reader were widely used. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๓๘)

King Rama VII or King Prajadhipok was educated at Eton College and Woolwich Military Academy, England, and Ecole Superieure de Guerre, France. (สุทธร รัตนกุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๔๑) He established the Royal Library

¹ There were six characteristics of this method : 1) Teach in the students' first language, Thai; 2) Use less English; 3) Emphasis on grammar; 4) Start the lesson by reading a text; 5) Provide translation exercises from English to Thai; and 6) The teacher has no need to speak Thai.

and Museum. The policy of English teaching changed after Thailand reformed its mode of government from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy in 1932. The government paid more attention to teaching the Thai language and English became an optional subject. English later gained its compulsory subject status in secondary school. But the revival was impeded by the lack of teachers, teachers' knowledge, etc. Therefore the subject did not leave an impression on the students but created the feeling that the language was difficult. (สุทธพร รัตน์กุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๔๔) The teaching emphasized cross-cultural communication and Grammar-Translation. (สุทธพร รัตน์กุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๔๕)

English is presently taught at all levels of education and emphasizes macro skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) and grammar. In higher education, English is a compulsory subject in all faculties and appears in several vocational forms such as English for Hotel Management, English for Tourism, and English for Business Communication. (สุทธพร รัตน์กุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๔๘) All universities have language laboratories. Teachers are both Thai and foreigners. At the university level, English teaching aspired to prepare students in conversational English, to help them in their careers and further education. All university students have to register for at least six credits of English course work. The curriculum is regularly updated. The English course is presently business oriented. (สุทธพร รัตน์กุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๔๙) The English Literature courses include English for Literature Work and American Literature. (สุทธพร รัตน์กุล ๒๕๔๙ หน้า ๕๐)

King Chulalongkorn or King Rama V established the Royal Pages School in 1902 and in 1910 King Rama VI, King Chulalongkorn's successor,

expanded the school to the Civil Service College, thereby fulfilling the wishes of King Rama V. His Majesty wished to spend the money left-over from the fund allocated towards building his statue, to build something that would benefit his people. He is reputed to have announced the provision of education for all his people. On March 26, 1917 Civil Service College became Chulalongkorn University. At first, Chulalongkorn University had four faculties: Medicine, Political Science, Engineering, and Arts and Science. (คณะกรรมการบัณฑิตจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ประจำปีการศึกษา ๒๕๓๖, ๒๕๓๗ หน้า ๑๓)

Admission was provided for graduates from Mathayom 6 (equal to grade 7). This was the highest level of education available at the time and the university awarded a high school certificate after the completion of studies at the university. In 1923, the university opened the first degree course in medicine and the first batch of students graduated in 1928. The graduation ceremony was held on 25 October 1930 and was presided over by King Rama VII. In 1927, seven women students were admitted to the degree course in medicine. This was a significant moment in the Thai history of education since it was the first time that women had equal rights to education as men did. From 1932 onwards Chulalongkorn University developed degree courses in other disciplines of engineering, the arts and sciences. (คณะกรรมการบัณฑิตจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ประจำปีการศึกษา ๒๕๓๖, ๒๕๓๗ หน้า ๑๓-๑๔)

In 1933, the government transferred the Law School from the Ministry of Justice to the Faculty of Political Sciences. The school was renamed the Faculty of Law and Politics. A year later this faculty was transferred once again and established as Thammasat Political University. The first

Chulalongkorn University Act was passed in 1934. Professor Dr. A.G. Ellis was the first President of Chulalongkorn University and his term extended through 1935-1936. The Rockefeller Foundation supported his tenure at the university. The Second University Act was passed in 1943, whence the Faculty of Politics was established and Faculty of Arts was renamed the Faculty of Arts and Education. Later in 1957, the Department of Education was separated from the Faculty of Arts and Education and a separate Faculty of Education was established.

During the early decades of the life of the university the faculty teaching different aspects of Thai culture were Thai citizens, while foreigners and Thai citizens who had studied abroad taught the other subjects. Most of the Thai teachers who studied abroad were awarded either the King's scholarship or a scholarship offered by the Rockefeller Foundation. (คณะกรรมการบัณฑิตจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ประจำปีการศึกษา ๒๕๓๖, ๒๕๓๗ หน้า ๑๔-๕) Furthermore, the expansion of undergraduate education was slow for the first forty years, but graduate education expanded even more slowly. The first doctoral degree in medicine was awarded in 1932. While the first batch that graduated with a master's degree in engineering, or the sciences, and arts passed out in 1945. The Graduate School was established in 1961. (คณะกรรมการบัณฑิตจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ประจำปีการศึกษา ๒๕๓๖, ๒๕๓๗ หน้า ๑๕) Thus Chulalongkorn University commenced with four faculties in 1917 and had expanded to eight faculties and one department by 1966: these included: engineering, arts, sciences, architecture, commerce and accounts, politics, education, graduate school, and the department of mass media and public relations. (คณะกรรมการบัณฑิตจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ประจำปีการศึกษา ๒๕๓๖, ๒๕๓๗ หน้า ๑๗)

The sixth decade (1967-1976) in the life of the university witnessed progress in academic fields such as the Health Sciences. Chulalongkorn University established the Faculty of Law in 1969, the Faculty of Economics in 1970, and the Faculty of Mass and Communication in 1975. Moreover the university founded four research institutes: Institute for Population Studies in 1970, Research Institute for Medical Sciences and Research Institute for Environment in 1975, and Research Institute for Social Sciences in 1976. The Graduate School provided 88 master's level courses and 1 doctoral course. The university improved academic services: for example the main library had 120,000 books, faculty and department libraries were developed, and the Thailand Documentary Centre established. This progress was planned for in the Development Plan I (1965-1969), Plan II (1969-1972) and Plan III (1972-1976). (คณะกรรมการบัณฑิตจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ประจำปีการศึกษา ๒๕๓๖, ๒๕๓๗ หน้า ๑๘-๙)

From 1977-1986, Chulalongkorn University pursued the Development Plan IV (1977-1981) and Plan V (1981-85). The Faculty of Fine Arts was established in 1983. The Graduate School provided more courses: 4 certificate courses, 35 master courses and 8 doctoral courses. The Institute of Master of Business Administration was founded in 1981. (คณะกรรมการบัณฑิตจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ประจำปีการศึกษา ๒๕๓๖, ๒๕๓๗ หน้า ๑๙) The university honoured former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi with a doctoral Degree in Political Science during his state visit to Thailand in October 19, 1986. (คณะกรรมการบัณฑิตจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ประจำปีการศึกษา ๒๕๓๖, ๒๕๓๗ หน้า ๒๑)

From the Faculty of Arts and Sciences to the Faculty of Arts

The Faculty of Arts and Sciences had been offering high school teacher certificate courses since 1928. The Faculty later expanded the courses to include a bachelor degree course with its first students graduating in 1935. From 1935-1995, over sixty years, this faculty acquired an alumni strength of approximately 8,000 students. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๓๙ หน้า ๒๗๘) The Faculty was founded in order to instruct students from the faculties of medicine, political sciences and engineering in certain basic subjects. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๑๗) At first, teachers were hired to teach modern chemistry, physics, biology, English, French and History. Until 1928, the faculty ran a three-year course and the graduates from the faculty were awarded a high school certificate. In the first two years, students learned Thai, Pali, English, French, History, Geography, the life and dhamma of the Buddha and, and Mathematics. In the third year, the students were instructed in education (teaching). The first batch of this graduate course had 16 students (4 female) and all of them worked in government high schools after graduation. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๐-๒๑)

In 1933, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences was separated into two faculties: the Arts Faculty and the Faculty of Sciences. The Arts Faculty had two departments: arts and teacher training. But in the same year these two faculties reunited again with eight departments: chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics, Thai language and Eastern archeology, modern languages, geography and history, and teacher training. By 1934, the university had expanded the three-year course to a bachelor's degree courses: B.A. Arts, B.Sc., and B. Engineering. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๑). At that time, Professor J.E. Davies (M.A.) was the head of the

department of modern languages and the other teachers were Mr. A.C. Braine Hartnell (B.A.), Mr. E.C. McGan (B.A.), Mr. James Murphy (B.A.) and Mr. George Marie Leopold Vial-Marsalle (Docteur es Lettres). Thus in the initial years most of the teachers came from Europe and the United States. In 1935, there were 33 students awarded the B.A. Arts degree (12 from morning session and 21 from afternoon session). (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๒-๒๓)

However in 1943, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences was separated by the university's act but still operated under the same dean. In 1948, the Faculty of Arts was renamed the Faculty of Arts and Education in order to accommodate a B. Ed courses. There were four departments: Thai language and Eastern archeology, foreign languages, geography and history, and education. This Faculty of Arts and Education had its own dean, Professor Rong Sayamanon in 1950. In 1957, the Department of Education was separated from the Faculty and became Faculty of Education. Since then the Faculty of Arts has remained the Faculty of Arts. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๔)

From 1934, all first year students of the B.A. Arts Programme had to register for three subjects: Thai language and Eastern archeology, Geography and History, and English. They had to opt for one more subject from a menu comprising French, German, or Mathematics – thus making a total of four subjects. Students learned the same subjects in their second year. In the third year, they had to choose only three subjects from four and they pursued this until the fourth year. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๔) By 1950, the English courses in the fourth year were divided into two: English I (language) and English II (literature). Students who wished to take English II had to pass English in the third year and

score over 70 percent in English I as a prerequisite. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๔) In other words, the students were expected to have a minimum proficiency in the language in order to register for English literature. This practice was extended to French by 1957: thus French was divided into two - French I (language) and French II (literature). General Science was also included in the curriculum, of the B.A. Arts course by 1958, (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๕) The curriculum was revised in 1962. The number of departments was six: Thai language, English language, Eastern languages, Western languages, Geography and History, and Library Studies. A Department of Philosophy was established in 1966, and a Department of Drama in 1971. Geography and History became separate departments in 1972. And finally in 1977 a Department of Linguistics was formed. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๕)

We move now from the evolution of the structure of the department to the system of evaluation. The Faculty of Arts introduced the credit system from the academic year 1971, In order to graduate a B.A. Arts students had to take at least 144 credits. These 144 credits were disaggregated into: 72 credits from basic subjects of all departments, 32 credits from the major subject, 16 credits units from the minor subject, and 8 credits from optional subjects. Students had to choose one language as their major or minor subject. At that time, there were 12 major and minor subjects: Thai, English, History, Geography, Library Studies, Philosophy, Drama, Pali and Sanskrit, Japanese, French, German, and Mathematics. The optional subjects included Linguistics, Chinese, Malay, Spanish, and Italian. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๖)

In 1977, the Faculty of Arts revised its B.A. course by adopting the standards established by the Ministry of University Affairs. Students had

to register for 130 credits in order to earn a B.A degree. Thirty credits were accorded to general education, 16 credits for compulsory subjects, 42 credits for major subject, 24 credits for minor subject, and 18 credits for optional subjects. There were 13 major subjects offered by the Faculty: Thai, English, History, Geography, Library Studies, Philosophy, Drama, Pali and Sanskrit, Japanese, French, German, Spanish and Italian. The minor subjects were the same as previously but Chinese, and Malay were offered as well. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๖) The Faculty of Arts revised its B.A. programme again in 1982. This time students had to earn 144 credits to obtain the degree. There were 30 credits for general education, 26 credits for compulsory subjects, 52 credits for major subject, 30 credits for minor subject and 6 credits for optional subjects. There were 14 major subjects. Chinese was added as the 14th major subject. Thai Studies was included as a minor subject. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๖)

An M.A. programme was first offered in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in 1942 and the first graduate batch included two students: one was awarded an M.A. in Geography and the other an M.A. in History. The other departments that offered an M.A. programme were Thai language, and Modern languages (English and French). From 1982, more departments offered an M.A. programme including Pali and Sanskrit, Library Studies, Philosophy, German, and Linguistics. In 1975, the first Ph.D programme in the Thai Language was established. The first graduate was awarded a Ph.D degree in 1979. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๒๗)

The Department of English itself was first established at Chulalongkorn University in 1933. At that time it was called the Department of Modern

Languages. The first head of the department was Professor J.E. Davies. During the reign of Prince Prem (1945 – 1961), the Department of Modern Languages was renamed the Department of Foreign Languages. This department offered facilities for foreign languages teaching for students of the Faculty of Arts and English as well as for students from other faculties. (Faculty of Arts, 1986 : 70) In 1962 the Department of Foreign Languages was separated into two departments namely the Department of Western Languages and the Department of English. The latter department offered courses in English for students from other faculties of Chulalongkorn University. Professor Tanphuying Noppakhun Thongyai Na Ayudhaya was appointed the head of the Department of English, a post she occupied until her retirement in 1972. (Faculty of Arts, 1986 : 70)

Chulalongkorn University established the C.U. Language Institute in 1977. This institute aimed to provide English courses for students from other faculties. The Department of English was responsible mainly for teaching English to students from the Faculty of Arts. The Department developed its B.A. curriculum with three objectives in mind: (1) to encourage students to use English as a tool to explore other fields of knowledge, (2) to encourage students to use English as a language for professional interactions, and (3) to help students understand English culture. English major students had to take courses in language and literature. (Faculty of Arts, 1986 : 70 - 71)

Table 1 Number of English courses offered at Chulalongkorn University

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>English</u> <u>Courses offered</u>
1959	29
1965	30
1970	34
1971	38
1977	52
1984	50
1995	48

(คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๓๙ หน้า ๔๙)

The table above provides an idea of the temporal evolution of the courses in English offered at the university. We shall have more to say about the nature of the courses in the next section. However, here I merely point out that the department displayed a steady growth in the number of courses from 1959 to 1977 when there was a very sharp increase. Subsequently, the growth in the number of courses stabilized, possibly signifying that the discipline had reached the critical size reflecting its maturity.

Those who have graduated from these courses with English as a major or minor subject are now working in the government and private sectors. Some of the well known students who have graduated from this programme play a central role in English language teaching in the country. These include Dr. Khunkanda Thammongkol, Associate Professor and director of C.U. Language Institute, Dr. Tuernjai Tan-Ngarmtrong, Assistant Professor and head of the English Programme,

National Institute of Development Administration, Professor Dr. Kullasak Chaya-ngarm, head of Department of English for Career Development, Kasetsart University. (Faculty of Arts, 1986 : 73) Other graduates from the programme moved to mass communication and the media. For example Somjit Sittichai was the director of International News, Public Relation Department, Office of the Prime Minister. Later Ramyong Sakornpan was the director of the same office, Narong Rungwattana was head of International News of TV Channel 9. (Faculty of Arts, 1986 : 74) The third area where the graduates of the programme have found employment is in the domain of publication and literary production. Thus Nillawan Pinthong was the editor of 'Satreesarn' magazine and president of the language and book association (P.E.N. Club), and there are some who turned to translation such as the famous Tawarn Chanapai and 'Manunya'. (Faculty of Arts, 1986 : 75)

The History of the Department as related by the Alumni, Students and the Faculty

As far as the curriculum is concerned it is evident that about 28 courses are offered by the department (for a listing see appendix I). Going by the title of the courses it is obvious that the course is structured by the idea of imparting English as a foreign language. Thus the focus of the majority of the courses is on English grammar, syntax, semantics, phonetics and translation. Off the total number of courses offered in the department only ten were related to English literature and by the titles one could infer that these were not specialist courses but designed to provide an overview of an area by way of a cultural introduction. As a department then the courses were oriented towards language acquisition skills, while the literary orientation was present it does not appear to have headed towards

specialization. This point will become evident following our discussion of the responses and interviews of students presently at the department as well as some alumni.

Since a full-fledged history of the department is yet to be written and the primary sources are few, it was decided to carry out a preliminary interviews of students and alumni of the department in order to explore the orientation of the programme and its subsequent evolution. A questionnaire was prepared and administered to about forty students who had taken English as a major or minor subject at the Department of English, Arts Faculty, Chulalongkorn University in the second semester of the academic year 2006. Of the forty only twenty questionnaires were returned : three from first year students, nine from second year students, eight from fourth year students but none from third year students.

The questionnaire moved from the official historical account produced by the commemorative histories of the university to gauge what the students made of the courses, what they gained from them, and which courses left a deep impression on their subsequent career. Twenty responses is not a significant number to draw any meaningful conclusions. But these responses could surely be indicative of directions for further investigation. Thus only four respondents appeared to have been satisfied with the entire course and felt that they had gained from the overall structure of the course. However, the majority of the respondents felt that they benefitted most from courses such as “Introduction to English Composition”, “Elementary English Language”, “Basic Translation”. This indicates two things. First that the students who had opted for the course were committed to learning a new language to enhance their ability to communicate in the language of contemporary global culture.

There was a profoundly significant vocational interest that underpinned their study of the language. Secondly, the manner in which the Department structured its courses was tailored, consciously or otherwise, to satisfy the pressing requirements of Thai society, having set out on a course of modernization in the early decades of the last century.

Appendix 2 contains the list of the plays and novels that were taught at the university between 2004 and 2007. Of the twenty nine odd literary works discussed in the different courses, a handful would belong to the genre of the classics as taught in any literature course anywhere in the world². This would comprise a translation of a classical Greek play (Sophocles), a play of William Shakespeare – preferably one of the tragedies, several social realist novels from the nineteenth century (Dickens, Austen, Bronte), the literature of the Raj and migration (Forster, Conrad), with some Bloomsbury thrown in (Woolfe). The noteworthy feature of this English literature course is that there is a substantial presence of American literature of the last century represented in works of authors belonging to three distinct generations (Faulkner, Toni Morrison and Jhumpa Lahiri). This also reveals the variety of voices, cultures and experiences that manifest themselves in American literature. The substantial presence of American authors is possibly also related to the immense influence of American academics in Thai academic life, in particular at the level of higher education. Further, this choice could also be conditioned by the dominating economic role the United States enjoys in the region as orchestrating a particular form of globalization.

² In appendix 2, these have been marked out in italics.

While the novels that have been listed in Appendix 2 were part of the curriculum between 2004 and 2007, some of the alumni of the department who responded to the questionnaire have further details to add. Thus Kunying Pha-op Posakrissana, an alumna who studied English and belonged to the first batch that graduated with a B.A. degree, indicated that the batch had studied the classic Beowulf. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๕๑ พันตรีหญิง คุณหญิงผะอบ ไปชะกฤษณะ) In the traditions of the classics, which included English translations of Greek plays, students from the third batch reported that they had studied the Illiad and Odyssey. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๓๙ หน้า ๑๔๗ คุณนิลวรรณ ปิ่นทอง). A lady student from the eighth batch, Tapanee Nakornat, vividly recalls the strong focus accorded to the study of poetry. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๓๙ หน้า ๑๕๘ ฐะปะนีย์ นาคกรรพ) Another lady student from the eighteenth batch, Jitsommanat Sivadit remembers the courses she had taken on English Prose and Poetry. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๗๑ จิตโสมนัส ศิวะดิติถ) The sample size is too small to infer if the courses on English poetry left a deeper impression on the women students. A student from the thirteenth batch that graduated from the university, Paitoon Pongsabut recalls the courses he registered for on English Poetry, History of the Novel, and reading Dicken's David Copperfield, Austen's Jane Eyre, and Bronte's Wuthering Heights. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๓๙ หน้า ๑๗๔ ไพฑูรย์ พงศบุตร) A former lecturer at the department, John Blofeld (clearly not of native Thai origin) responded that during his tenure as a lecturer (1951-1961) the students were introduced to Elizabethan Poetry, Jane Austen's novel, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century novels. He found that the course was so structured that the first year students had the most difficult time while the fourth year students had an easier time. (คณะอักษรศาสตร์, ๒๕๒๙ หน้า ๘๑-๘๒ John Blofeld)

It is evident then that till the late 1950s the literature course was influenced and shaped by what was then canonised as English literature in other parts of the world – and English literature was marked by certain classics, and these classics formed the reading even in Thailand. However, from the 1950s onwards as American influence on Thai education became more significant the canon itself began to be revised. This was reflected in the appearance of more novelists from the world of American literature being introduced into the canon at the Department of English at Chulalongkorn University.

The impact these literary readings had upon the students tells us something about the development of the course. While I do have the responses of students and some alumnus to individual novels and books they read as part of their course work, in the discussion that follows the responses will be discussed. Overall these literary readings had more of a cultural impact than it did on their language acquisition and communication skills. Thus several of the responses were as follows: “Somehow, these novels gave me a deeper insight into Western culture and way of thinking. It introduced me to the deeper significance of literature”. Thus another respondent confided: “, I can understand the world and people better. English literature can be created by those who are not English at all”. Clearly, the new orientation of the course had removed the central marker of the identity of English literature from the field of significance and broadened the subject to include “other Englishes”. Thus one respondent argues: “It made me aware of variety of English in this world”. The remark was reiterated, independently though, by another respondent, from the other end, who seems to have sipped off the cup of post-colonial literature: “I see the presence of racism. I am more critical when I read”. Thus outside the realm of “English for

Communication”, the literature programme had an impact at the cultural level, especially on those students who seemed to have been ‘smitten by literature: “I’ve learnt to have an open mind for the truths suggested in each literature’s themes”. Or: “It expands my knowledge about life, people from different countries and values”. Perhaps the cultural agenda of English at Chulalongkorn University is another side of the vocationalisation of English as well. Thus quite a few of the alumni who responded to the questionnaire were themselves privately employed and had taken upon themselves the task of translating material for clients from English to Thai and possibly from Thai to English. A few of them had entered the teaching profession, which in a way reflected the domestication of English as a discipline in a university context in Thailand’s premier university. The other avenues of employment are in publishing, the media and tourism industries.

The point raised in the paragraph above was confirmed by the faculty members whom I interviewed separately. Some of them pointed out that other than the students who had taken English as a major subject, the majority of the students registering for the course took it as a minor or optional subject since a knowledge of English would ensure them a good job. But in addition to students registered at the department of English, literature courses were also organized for students of education. These courses were marked by their wide exposure to the world of English language while the students who had taken the subject as a major were exposed to detailed study of the subject.

Another questionnaire was administered amongst some of the teachers at the university. In fact, I interviewed five teachers; all of them women between the ages of 32 and 66. The oldest of them joined the department

forty four years ago and is a valuable source of oral history of the department for her tenure is more or less concurrent with the transformation of the Thai university. The others interviewed have been at the university for about twenty, eighteen, twelve and ten years respectively. All the five interviewed are alumni of the department: three having completed their B.A. degree at the university and other two obtained their M.A. as well. Inbreeding is possibly produced by the dearth of expertise in the subject at other Thai universities. Three of the five have doctorates and the others have a master's degree. However, all of them received their master's and doctoral degrees from the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Thus there continues to be a dependence on certification from outside Thailand; a further indication that English language education still is framed under that of a foreign language. The gender bias is not entirely an introduction of my own bias. The department has thirty eight lecturers, eleven of them are male and twenty seven are women. Ten of the eleven male lecturers are foreigners; all the women lecturers are from Thailand. Clearly within Thai academia English is considered a soft discipline, since few men gravitate towards teaching English. Its status as a foreign language further signifies its low academic status within the hierarchy of the university's disciplines.

I queried these faculty members about the process of curriculum development. The question was of course prompted by the desire to know what factors shaped the curriculum in Thailand. When the department was created and expertise sparse only senior lecturers were involved in the process of curriculum development. This process has since been revised and now all the faculty members of the department are involved in the process of curriculum development. In addition, to the existing faculty, former members of the department and experts located at other

centres and departments are also invited to develop the curriculum. Once the group is finalized a workshop is organized where the future curriculum is proposed and discussed threadbare. This workshop normally lasts a week. The curriculum is revised every few years. The curriculum presently being followed was developed in 2003. This curriculum, the latest one, factored in some of the requirements of students. Putting it euphemistically, the course was re-tailored to meet the requirements of the new global economy. Thus while one section of the syllabus is constantly being revised to suit the changing environment of language and the skills repertoire decided by the market, there is another core that changes slowly over the decades. This part of the syllabus has remained unchanged for thirty years.

International agencies did play a role in getting the programme of the ground. In the light of the reorientation of Thai higher education under the influence of the United States of America, the Rockefeller Foundation stepped in. Interestingly, it was only the Rockefeller Foundation that played this role of furthering the cause of English language education in Thailand. The other agencies of the government of the United States involved in cultural exchange programmes such as the USIS and the USEFI had no significant role to play. Nevertheless, the USIS, the British Council – the premier agency involved in English language education, the American University Alumni (AUA), and the Fulbright did sponsor some international meetings and facilitated the travel of guest lecturers to Thailand.

While the account thus far has focused upon the external influences that have given form to the course there remain a number of equally interesting questions that have just been touched upon and need to be

explored in the subsequent stages of the study. Some of the most pressing questions are: [1] what was the underlying rationale for selecting the novels that were integrated into the teaching of the various courses? [2] What variety of English came to be taught in the Thai university – American or Queen’s? Is there an emergent form called “Thai English” that is on the cards? Some of the studies from the South East and East Asia have suggested the appearance of such local forms. In the process the rich diversity of world English is augmented. [3] And finally, how does “English” as a discipline anchor itself in a university context in Thailand? [4] Do some of the concerns of postcolonial literature figure in the concerns of the department of English and literature more widely at Chulalongkorn?

Chapter V

Conclusion

In India, English is a second language in most states but it shares the status of official national language with Hindi. English is also the language of state administration and the law courts. The use of Hindi is widespread as a link language for communication, while English is the language of higher education. The importance of English in India is that it is the language of scientific and technological development and international commerce. In many cases it is the first language of the elite. Like Hindi it also serves as a link language between states. The use of English is widespread in the third estate and the visual media. This is the place of English in contemporary India. However, the introduction of English language and literature education in England, New Zealand and India in the last half of the nineteenth century has been the subject of much research and the present dissertation has drawn upon the work of Chris Baldick, Guari Viswanathan and Franklin Court. These works not only underscore the different agendas that defined English language and literature education, but also gesture towards the role English education was intended to perform both in England and the colonies in terms of social reform and control of the self and the others.

The structure and the content of university education in India in the nineteenth century were founded on the model of the University College of London. By the beginning of the twentieth century other models began to come into place and dot the landscape of university education. The Nineteenth Century University was established as an examining rather than

teaching body. In the twentieth century the idea of the Humboldtian university resonated amongst the generation of modern educated Indians.

English was introduced as a discipline in the curriculum of the Indian university during the age of colonialism. English literature was a subject in the curriculum in the colonies even before it was institutionalized in England. In the 1820s the study of English culture was secured in the British Indian curriculum. English literature was introduced to India following the enactment of the Charter Act of 1813. By 1835 English Education Act was passed by the then Governor-General William Bentinck, and English became the medium of instruction in Indian education. The early British Indian curriculum in English was primarily devoted to language studies. Grammar was taught alongside the reading of texts. Literature as a discipline was originally introduced in India primarily to convey the mechanics of language. It was transformed into an instrument for ensuring industriousness, efficiency, trustworthiness, and compliance in native subjects. In British India, Classical Indian literature was read as ordained by divine authority, while English literature was read as an expression of culture. The department of English literature formed a large and unified institution within the system of higher education in India. However, the civilizing ideal that underlined university education also endowed the discipline with a robust autonomy that allowed it to develop along trajectories that did not necessarily reflect the will of the colonizers.

Chulalongkorn University is the first Thai modern university established in 1917, a good sixty years after the first modern Indian university was established. Unlike India, Thailand was never a colony of an European

imperial power. But the monarchy played the political field under the threat of colonization that it constantly sought to evade. The university established by the monarchy was thus an instrument for modernizing the country. English was taught as a language in institutions of higher education. It was a language first taught to students of medicine when the university commenced its degree programme in medicine. In 1933, the Department of English was founded. But the subsequent destiny and location of the department was partially determined by the changing perceptions of the utility of the language in the university curriculum. Precisely because the agenda of English was defined with respect to the vocational requirements of the students it was located in faculties that were constantly rechristened. The unresolved dilemma appears to have been whether English should be an independent discipline or was a support facility to all departments of the university; since English had come to be considered the language that was the gateway to the knowledge of the West and modernization itself. If the latter were the case then English was not just a support facility offered to several departments but also needed to inform teacher training without which it would be impossible to run the programme of modernizing the system of education.

The Thai state was pro-active in investing in education and modernization. The contrast with the colonial state is surprising. However, within the colonial state a substantial public sphere had emerged that constantly contested the colonial agenda and re-oriented educational pedagogy in independently established institutions and universities. Thailand did not benefit from the advantage of size as India did and it appears that the extreme focus on utilitarianism seemed to have resulted in a situation where

the model of the Humboldtian university was shelved or ignored. The place of English as a foreign language and not a cultural system that could be studied for its own sake is reflected in the first doctoral student graduating in the subject in 1979.

However, at the level of intellectual influences it appears that there was an unnoticeable but nevertheless important shift in the curriculum. After the Second World War Thai higher education drew its inspiration and resources from the United States of America. This shift is reflected not merely in the metamorphosis of the Thai ethos as some Thai scholars have suggested, but was further reflected in the curriculum. Thus more American authors began to appear in the course readings and English literature began to look like Anglo-American literature rather than just good old English literature. The new English courses emphasized language acquisition skills more than English literature. Nevertheless, the courses were responsive to the dominant trends in the globalizing economy. The goal of colonial literary education in India in the nineteenth century was to instruct the colonial subject in the ideal of the “moral citizen”. The new readings at Chulalongkorn were directed towards familiarizing the students with an increasing globalised world woven together through communities of English speakers. This, if any, was the cultural agenda of English education.

In both the Indian and Thai cases, English was introduced as a foreign language. However, in the Indian case it was forced upon the population by the colonial government, but over time the language was domesticated and so much so Indian English is a language in its own right with a rich literature to boast off. In Thailand, the language was introduced by the monarch, but

since the language was never enforced by the state its uptake was not as widespread as India. The increase in the number of English language speakers was proportional to the growth of the Thai economy. But knowledge formations driven by the market have less disciplinary autonomy than those that are driven by other considerations. This is a manifest feature of the English course at Chulalongkorn, as one of the academicians interviewed remarked. But will Thai English soon appear on the landscape of “world Englishes” it is too soon to tell. Thai novelists now write and publish in English. In fact, Paul Adirex’s novel The Pirates of Turatao is soon to be made into a feature film. Maybe the entity “Thai English” is to be found just around the corner.

Appendix 1

Courses offered at the Department of English, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

1. English I
2. English II
3. Introduction to Drama
4. Basic Translation
5. Introduction to English Poetry and Fiction
6. Syntax
7. Elements of Spoken English
8. Introduction to English Composition
9. English Composition
10. English Reading
11. Academic Oral Skills
12. Academic Oral Presentation
13. Technical Skills and Literature
14. English Morphology and Syntax
15. Shakespeare
16. 20th Century English Short Stories
17. Development of English Language
18. Contemporary World Literature
19. The 19th Century British Novel
20. Background of American Literature
21. Background of British Literature
22. Elizabethan Poetry
23. Intermediate English-Thai
24. Shakespeare Letters
25. Mythology
26. Sound System
27. Grammar Structure
28. Introduction to English Fiction

Appendix 2

List of English literary works novels in the curriculum between 2004 and 2007.

<u>Name of Novels</u>	<u>Author</u>
Broken Bridge	Lynne Reid Banks
How I Live Now	Meg Rosoff (Michael L Printz Award)
A Certain Slant of Light	Laura Whitcomb
Stargirl	Jerry Spinelli
People in the Glass Houses	Shirley Hazzard
The Sisterhood of Travelling Pants I,II	Ann Brashares
The Lovely Bones	Alice Sebold
<i>Oedipus Rex</i>	<i>Sophocles</i>
<i>Macbeth</i>	<i>William Shakespeare</i>
<i>Volpone</i>	<i>Ben Johnson and R.B. Parker</i>
The History Boys	Alan Bennett
Sula	Toni Morrison
Women Hollering Creek	Allan C. Kimball
<i>Pride and Prejudice</i>	<i>Jane Austen</i>
Kindred	Octavia E. Butler
Interpreter of Maladies	Jhumpa Lahiri
As I Lay Dying	William Faulkner
Woman Warrior	Maxine Hong Kingston
Blu's Hanging	Lois-Ann Yamanaka
Tracks	Louise Erdrich
<i>Jane Eyre</i>	<i>Charlotte Bronte</i>
<i>Hard Times</i>	<i>Charles Dickens</i>
<i>Mill on the Floss</i>	<i>George Eliot</i>
<i>Lord Jim</i>	<i>Joseph Conrad</i>

<i>Orlando</i>	<i>Virginia Woolf</i>
<i>Passage to India</i>	<i>E.M. Forster</i>
The Remains of the Days	Kazuo Ishiguro
Bel Canto	Ann Patchett

Appendix 3

Questionnaires (students)

1. General information

Male Female Age

2. In which year did you enroll for the B.A. English degree?

3. Why did you opt for this course?

.....
.....
.....

4. You opted for this course as your

Major subject minor subject optional subject

Others

.....
.....

5. Who were your English teachers at that time?

Name	Nationality	Subject

6. What subjects in the B.A. course did you study?

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.....
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.....

7. From which courses did you benefit the most?

.....
.....

8. What English literature did you learn in B.A.?

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.....
.....

9. What English novels did you read in the B.A. course?

.....
.....
.....

10. Did they have an impact on your thinking and value?

.....
.....
.....
.....

11. How did the course change your horizons of English literature and language?

.....
.....
.....
.....

12. Were you instructed in a dominant variety of English

UK USA AUS Hong Kong Others

.....

13. Were you told that there were many varieties of English?

.....

14. How many?

.....

.....

15. What kind of jobs did you and your friends take after graduation?

Government job private job NGO Teaching research

newspaper/media translator others

16. Did you get a fellowship/support from some international agencies?

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.....

.....

17. What kind of support did you get?

.....

.....

.....

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